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VOL. VIII

JULY, 1942

NO. 6

BLUEPRINTS FOR TOMORROW

AGATHA BOYD ADAMS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
FOREWORD	6
CHAPTER I. THE WORLD GREW SMALLER	7
CHAPTER II. THE PEACE THAT FAILED	9
CHAPTER III. THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNITED STATES	11
CHAPTER IV. THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHURCH	13
CHAPTER V. PLANNING FOR BRITAIN	15
CHAPTER VI. THE UNITED STATES OF THE FUTURE	17
CHAPTER VII. REGIONAL PLANNING	19
CHAPTER VIII. LARGER PLANS	21
CHAPTER IX. IS A DURABLE PEACE POSSIBLE?	23
CHAPTER X. HOW SHALL WE SHAPE THE FUTURE?	25
CHAPTER XI. THE DEMOCRATIC FAITH	27
CHAPTER XII. THE BASIS OF HOPE	29
SPECIAL REFERENCES	32
PUBLISHERS	33
ADDITIONAL REFERENCES	34
SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS	35

FOREWORD

President Roosevelt has said "Plans to win the war and to win the peace must grow out of our common national purpose, and with democratic participation in planning by all of us." Post-war planning lies no longer in the realm of dreams, but has become the definite responsibility of economists, politicians, governments, and most especially and directly, of all peoples everywhere. Hitler's plan for a new world order must be countered with a better plan, a more far-reaching one, one that will so respond to human need and human reality that it may hearten the oppressed and inspire those who are fighting for democracy. What can the individual do? "We can start now by widening our mental horizons to grasp the international dimensions of the future. We can cease thinking just in terms of our town or even our nation. We are citizens of the United Nations."

This program is intended as a guide to the beginning of such international thinking. No attempt has been made here to advocate any plan above others, or even to evaluate the different plans for post-war reconstruction, but simply to direct the attention of the reader to some of the problems the post-war world will face, and to some of the proposals already made for solving them. It is greatly encouraging to find, in studying the various books brought together here, that many people all over the world are thinking along the same lines, and approaching a fundamental agreement.

THE WORLD GROWN SMALLER

It is a strange paradox that out of the great evil and tragedy of war some good always comes. One of the by-products of the present war which may be put down on the side of positive good is the heightened and highly dramatized realization of the smallness of the world and its closely knit interdependence. Names that were once dots on a carelessly seen map become outposts of our nation, where boys we know are fighting. Mrs. America walks to market because rubber plantations in Malaya are burning. Isolationism became obsolete on December the seventh, 1941. Every rationed item of daily use, every news bulletin from the battle fronts, hammers home the fact that we are not self-sufficient, that we need the whole world, that we are all mutually dependent. It becomes increasingly important to think in terms of the whole world, to apply the word "global" not just to war and strategy, but to international planning.

The Book of Common Prayer has a beautiful phrase to ask the Lord to "bless and preserve the kindly fruits of the earth, so that in due time we may enjoy them." Those "kindly fruits," a great wealth of natural resources, exist in abundance. One of the most important problems of our time is to find out how they may be so controlled and distributed that people everywhere may in due time enjoy them.

In *Geography and Human Destiny* Roderick Peattie gives us a long view of man's place in his world home. Reading it will suggest the background of many problems for which we now seek a solution.

Dependent Areas in the Post-War World, by Holcombe, takes us directly to the specific geographic problems of the present day.

1. "THE VARIETY OF HUMAN LIFE"

Geography in Human Destiny, by Roderick Peattie

What is the author's definition of geography?

How does he describe the origins of agriculture? of language? of commerce?

Why does he consider the Isthmus of Suez "the most important piece of sand in the world"? Is that true now?

How does the study of geography break down the sense of regionalism? Keep his statements in regard to this in mind later when studying the need for cooperation among nations.

Who were the "have-nots" of early history? Discuss the reasons for the restlessness of the nomad tribes.

Compare his statements about racial purity with those now current in Nazi Germany.

What does he consider the effects of climate upon human psychology? Do you think he exaggerates this idea?

What does he mean by the "geography of national competition"? The meaning of this will be amplified by your study of Holcombe's *Dependent Areas in the Post-War World*.

Discuss "the geography of peace," Chapter 17. "We are having forced upon us a brotherhood of man; leaders in the future will be men with international sympathies."

What are his two fundamental proposals for peace?

2. THE STAKES OF DIPLOMACY

Dependent Areas in the Post-War World, by Arthur N. Holcombe

Why did Walter Lippmann call the backward areas of the world "the stakes of diplomacy"? How does Arthur Holcombe define such areas? Note the list of them in the appendix.

What is the importance of such areas? Do you find any support here for Hitler's claim that Germany is a "have-not" nation? What about Japan? Comment on the relation of foreign missions to dependent areas.

What forms of government have been tried for dependencies? Holcombe calls the mandate system "an unfinished experiment." Why? What lessons may be learned from this experiment?

Why is the government of dependencies of great interest to the United States?

Discuss the solutions which this book suggests to the problems of dependencies and minorities.

Additional Reading:

German Geopolitics, by H. W. Weigert.

Economic Impacts of the War, by Arthur Feiler.

CHAPTER II

THE PEACE THAT FAILED

The title of Lewis Browne's recent book *Something Went Wrong* finds a responsive echo in the hearts of everyone who lived through the first World War. In the bright years before 1914, the great days of the Hague Peace Conferences, it was customary to speak of war as obsolete, the wicked folly of our grandfathers, which we were too enlightened to commit again. And then when war inescapably came we fought it only that there might never again be a war. What happened to all those aspirations and struggles for world peace? More concrete than dreams, they were underwritten by an incalculable amount of human "blood, sweat, and tears." In a world which we know to be rich and spacious, abundantly provided with all the means for a good life, why must we periodically destroy that abundance and deny that good life? Man behaves like a schizophrenic, a split personality, warring against himself; he is in very sober truth his own worst enemy.

In *The Struggle for World Order* Vera Dean gives a brilliant analysis of why the Allies lost the peace they fought for. She stresses the vital necessity now of "hard-headed planning for peace, and of patient, responsible, determined action to make that planning effective."

1. THE GROWTH OF MATERIALISM

Something Went Wrong; a Summation of Modern History, by Lewis Browne

Summarize the early history of the industrial revolution, as given here.

What attitude toward children resulted from this revolution? Do you remember finding this same attitude reflected in Dickens' novels? Illustrate.

What was the nineteenth century attitude toward poverty? Has there been any material change in this attitude?

How does the author use the word Manchesterism?

If you read *How Green Was My Valley*, or saw the picture, can you apply it to the chapter "The Black Life Spreads"?

What does the author mean by "Goads to Empire"? What does he think about the growth of the British Empire?

How does he describe the nineteenth century passion for colonies? Compare with Holcombes' *Dependent Areas in the Post-War World*.

Give the author's summarization of the rise of Japan. Who were the "three who came late"?

Discuss in detail the statement "It boded ill for all mankind that so many nations wanted to become empires . . . Here was a world that hungered to thrive, that deserved to thrive, yet all the time it kept racing toward suicide."

What does he mean by the "counter-revolution"? What is his hope for world peace? How does it tie in with other plans suggested here?

Additional Reading:

Lost Peace, by Harold Butler.

2. TO AVOID A SECOND VERSAILLES

The Struggle for World Order, by Vera Dean

What reasons does Miss Dean suggest for the failure of the Treaty of Versailles? Give them in detail. You will want to bear these reasons in mind as other writers discuss them.

What does she mean by Europe living in different periods of history? Give examples.

Discuss her statement "the Western Powers were reluctant to sacrifice either for peace or for war." How had the West betrayed democracy in international affairs?

Distinguish between "acquisitive society" and "contributive society."

Relate Miss Dean's discussion of geographic factors in human destiny with Roderick Peattie's; her discussion of dependencies and raw materials with Arthur Holcombe's, in Chapter I of this program.

Note her discussion of the Four Freedoms. What Bill of Responsibilities does she think should be added to the Bill of Rights?

Study Miss Dean's comment on the Atlantic Charter. This is a point to which we will want to return again in this program, as to others in this book.

Outline the two plans for world reconstruction suggested here, and comment on them.

Additional Reading:

Fourteen Points and The Treaty of Versailles, by G. M. Gathorne-Hardy.

Twenty Years Armistice, by W. A. Orton.

The Failures of Peace, by Kent Forster.

CHAPTER III

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNITED STATES

Walt Whitman liked to call this nation a "teeming nation of nations." So rich it is, so abundant in resources and in living space, that we have grown accustomed to think of ourselves as independent and self-sufficient. But now we are being forced to learn the hard lesson that nations can not, any more than individuals, live or die to themselves. Not only are we deprived by distant wars of the commodities which make daily life pleasanter or easier; we are beginning to realize that as long as there is misery and want and suffering anywhere in the world our own standard of living is dragged down, our own hopes for the future obscured. We have always been generous out of our abundance; now we are beginning to accept our responsibility in building a world where famine and war are impossible. We can no longer evade our dependence upon and our responsibility toward the rest of mankind.

Few people are better qualified to remind us of our connections with Europe than Louis Adamic. He has become the best spokesman for foreign born Americans, and he does not let us forget that we are all immigrants, all escapists from older countries. In *Two Way Passage* he makes us see that that older world from which our forebears fled has now caught up with us, and that it is our responsibility and our destiny to solve the problems of the Old World, in order to save ourselves.

The World's Destiny and the United States is the record of a conference on world affairs which has great promise for the future. If civilized human beings of such divergent nations and races can sit around a conference table and discuss the ills of the world, there is bound to be hope that methods can be found of curing those ills.

1. THE IMMIGRANT LOOKS BACKWARD

Two Way Passage, by Louis Adamic

How does the author, in the opening chapters, make you realize the richness and complexity of our national make-up?

What is his "Plymouth Rock and Ellis Island" project? Do you agree with him about the relative importance of these two symbols?

How does he contrast and balance the ideas of unity and diversity?

What is the significance of the St. Paul Festival of Nations? Would such a festival be possible elsewhere? in your community?

Why does he feel that the plight of German-Americans is worse now than that of other foreign-born citizens? In *Bird of the Wilderness* Vincent Sheean described their feeling during the first World War.

Discuss Adamic's plan for helping the reconstruction of Europe. Is his plan a practical one? What objections do you see to it? Keep it in mind in the discussion of other peace plans in this course.

Additional Reading :

My America, by Louis Adamic.

Bird of the Wilderness, by Vincent Sheean.

The Tragedy of German America, by John M. Hawgood.

2. A PARLIAMENT OF NATIONS

The World's Destiny and the United States: a Conference of Experts in International Relations

Turn to the back of the book and read about the interesting personalities who took part in this conference. What was the object of the conference? What is to be gained by such discussions?

Compare what the conference said about the failure of the League with what Vera Dean said in *The Struggle for World Order*. Are they substantially in agreement?

What did they consider the role of the United States? Is it similar to the role suggested by Louis Adamic?

How did they sum up the basic human rights? How do they tally with the Atlantic Charter?

What plans for a new political organization were suggested by the conference? What importance did they attach to education for international understanding?

Additional Reading :

The Atlantic Charter.

CHAPTER IV

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHURCH

In *Out of the People* by J. B. Priestley, to be studied later in this program, the author discusses as one of the obstacles to the effective working of democracy the decay of religion in a materialistic civilization. Lewis Mumford reaches much the same conclusion in *Faith for Living*, as does John Strachey in *A Faith to Fight For*: that the world needs now as never before to apply the Christian principles of love, understanding, and compassion. When such differently minded and non-religious writers express thus strongly the human need for genuine religion, we may indeed turn to the churches themselves to see how they are meeting this challenge.

It is reported that after the beautiful old churches of London burned during the blitz, a fragrance hung about them for days, a very rare and spicy fragrance of ancient wood, blended too perhaps with centuries of human prayers. Possibly we might find here a symbol of a new sort of burnt offering, a pledge to redeem from destruction a fresher and more vital faith. What has the church to offer now to those who have again begun to "hunger and thirst after righteousness"?

The Pope, the leaders of the Church of England, of the Catholic Church in England, and of the free churches, and some of the protestant churches in this country, have already expressed their hopes and plans for the post-war world. In *The Church and the New Order* William Paton analyzes these proposals from the point of view of an orthodox churchman.

1 . THE CHURCHES REPLY TO THE CHALLENGE OF TODAY

The Church and the New Order, by William Paton

Define the secular reasons for peace aims, and the Christian reasons, as they are given here.

Read over the five points offered by Pope Pius XII, and discuss them carefully.

Add to these the five points suggested by the English church leaders. Do you find any echo of these in the Atlantic Charter?

What period of time does Pius think should elapse between the end of the war and a settlement? Is he in agreement on this with other authors studied here?

What war time measures does he think could be continued with advantage during peace?

His remarks on religious freedom, especially in regard to the conduct of foreign missions, are interesting. Do you agree with him?

Discuss his arguments against the punitive dismemberment of Germany. Does he agree here in the main with Vera Dean?

What does he consider the special problems of the post-war world? How do these differ from those suggested in *The Struggle for World Order*?

What regenerative forces does he find in the world today, capable of initiating reconstruction? Enumerate them.

Give concrete instances of how the European churches have responded to the stress of war.

Additional Reading:

The Christian Alternative to World Chaos, by Luman J. Shafer.
Religious Proposals for World Order, by Liston Pope.

2. AN ANALYSIS OF THE MALVERN CONFERENCE

Faith for Reconstruction, by Rose Terlin

Note and discuss the quotation at the beginning from the Malvern Declaration.

What does W. H. Auden mean when he says

... "true democracy begins

With free confession of our sins"?

Summarize the first section "The Basis of Our Faith," with especial reference to the statement "It is a religious issue of the first magnitude how man uses the bread God has given the human race."

How does Miss Terlin define "the task before us"? How does she define Christian responsibility for this task?

Additional Reading:

When Hostilities Cease. Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church.

A Just and Durable Peace. Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

PLANNING FOR BRITAIN

Before the bombing and the burning of London had ceased British architects had begun to take advantage of the destruction by planning a more spacious, more beautiful, more functional London. No "architects of crystal Utopias" they, but practical builders, accustomed to dealing with steel and wood and concrete. In their forthright energy and optimism we can find an example of the way all post-war planning should be approached, without regret for the past, and with a long look ahead.

In *Out of the People*, by J. B. Priestley, and *Dawn of Victory*, by Louis Fischer we have two points of view, one British and one American, on what kind of England will emerge from the present crisis. These two writers are not interested so much in physical reconstruction as in the more profound phases of social and economic change which they feel sure must follow the war. They are often in agreement about certain basic factors in British character, and also about the shape of things to come. They share the feeling that it is possible, by taking thought now, to exert some influence on the pattern of the future and to design it so that all Englishmen may have a fairer share of the good things of life. Planning for one nation seems simple by comparison with more grandiose schemes for the entire world, but in such planning may often be found suggestions that are applicable both to other nations and internationally.

1. ENGLAND LOOKS BEYOND THE BLITZ

Out of the People, by J. B. Priestley

What distinction does Priestley make between "people" and "masses"? "Nazism is a government of the masses, not of the people." Explain this statement.

Is he correct in considering England a plutocracy rather than a genuine aristocracy? Upon what are class distinctions based? Note that in *Dawn of Victory* it is stated that two million English people have ruled the other fifty-six million.

What does the author think of Alice Duer Miller's poem *The White Cliffs of Dover*? What section of English life does this represent?

Why does Priestley feel it important to change ideas and mental attitudes before going ahead with social planning? How does he account for

the failure of the League of Nations? Compare this with Vera Dean's *The Struggle for World Order*.

How does he answer the question: What is Britain? What test does he apply to good governmental policy?

Discuss separately the three obstacles to democracy which Priestley mentions. Are they applicable to this country as well as to England? Compare them with the religious needs discussed in the preceding chapter.

In the appendix you will find more specific plans for "What Can I Do Now?" Discuss this plan in some detail, applying it to the United States at the present time.

Additional Reading:

A Plan for Britain. National Economic and Planning Association.

2. WHAT KIND OF ENGLAND?

Dawn of Victory, by Louis Fischer

"There will always be an England. But what kind?" What are Fischer's reasons for the first statement? How does he answer the question?

What does he have to say about the problem of India?

How does he explain Britain's lack of offensive military power? What has Britain done about strikes in war industry?

What does he consider America's new role in world affairs? Distinguish between world domination and world leadership.

Describe his plan for an industrial General Staff for all democratic countries. What does he think about conscripting property?

Discuss the statement: "The chief element in the next peace will be the attitude of the victorious nations towards the defeated." What reasons does he advance for giving the aggressor nations a better peace than they deserve? Why is economic retribution impossible?

What two steps toward peace and reconstruction does he think that the public can take even in the midst of war?

What relation does he establish between the American high tariff and the rise to power of Hitler? What does he think should be done in the future about the tariff?

Do Fischer's plans for the future seem impractical and visionary, or do you think they could be carried out? Compare them with other plans suggested here.

THE UNITED STATES OF THE FUTURE

Long before our own entry into war brought home to all of us a sharp realization of the tremendous changes faced by the whole world, the National Resources Planning Board had been correlating plans for post war "full employment, security, and building America." The Board states as the ultimate aim of all post war national planning "a greater freedom for the American people," and says "to the old freedoms (of the Bill of Rights) we must add new freedoms:

"The right to work, usefully and creatively, through the productive years;

"The right to fair pay, adequate to command the necessities and amenities of life in exchange for work, ideas, and other socially valuable work;

"The right to adequate food, shelter, clothing, and medical care;

"The right to live in a system of free enterprise, free of compulsory labor;

"The right to come and go, to speak or be silent, free from spyings and secret political police;

"The right of equality before the law, with equal access to justice in fact;

"The right to education for work, for citizenship, and for personal growth and happiness.

"The right to rest, recreation and adventure; the opportunity to enjoy life and to take part in an advancing civilization."

In *Remaking America* Jay Franklin describes some of the steps that have already been taken toward these ends. He is an ardent advocate of the New Deal, hence his book may seem biased to some, but it is also a colorful, lively, and invigorating challenge to the possibilities of national planning, and an interesting contrast to the two books on England previously studied. We have as yet no destroyed areas to reconstruct; we have the immense opportunity of utilizing for the best what is so abundantly ours.

The Road We Are Traveling is Stuart Chase's clear-cut analysis of our progress to date, with a suggestion as to the future, to be amplified in later books in the same series.

1. TO GUARANTEE THE FOUR FREEDOMS

Remaking America, by Jay Franklin

How does the author, in his Foreword, define the "American dream"? Why does he call America "the new Atlantis"?

Discuss his summary of the setting of this continent. How did we come near wrecking it?

Give his definition of the gap in this country between what was possible and what has been achieved. Is it true that some old-world nations could "lay claim to a higher degree of freedom, equality, and security than America"? What nations were they?

Do you think the heading "Three Centuries of Waste" is a false charge, or a justifiable one? Discuss it in terms of forests, grass, wild life, soil, farms, etc.

What does the author mean by a "dynamic civilization"?

What importance and significance does he ascribe to the rivers of America?

What qualities does he attribute to the American people? Note especially the section headed "No longer can a man just move West."

What does he consider the role of farmers in remaking America? of Industry?

Enumerate the basic human rights which he wishes to see secured. What means does he suggest of securing them?

How does this picture of the future of America compare with J. B. Priestley's picture of the future of England?

Additional Reading:

The Culture of Cities, by Lewis Mumford. (A brilliant exposition of what might be done with better planned cities)

Guides for Post War Planning. National Planning Association.

After the War—Full Employment. National Resources Planning Board.

The Wasted Land, by Gerald Johnson. (Applied especially to the agricultural South)

2. TAKING STOCK

The Road We Are Travelling, 1914-1942, by Stuart Chase

How does Stuart Chase's brief summary of recent history compare with Lewis Browne's in *Something Went Wrong*? Do they agree as to what went wrong?

Discuss the basic trends suggested here, such as "the closing frontier," "interdependence," "unemployment," "mechanized warfare." Mr. Chase clarifies these and other current phrases for us.

What goals does he set for America in the future? How do they compare with those suggested by Jay Franklin in *Remaking America*?

How does he define the problems we shall face? Have other books studied in this program made suggestions as to solving those problems?

REGIONAL PLANNING

Most people who think at all about international problems recognize the need for some sort of future organization which will put to work the mutual interdependence of the modern world. One of Hitler's strongest points is his recognition of the close economic bonds that hold the world in a much smaller sphere than it used to be. He thinks of it in terms of world domination by Germany and for Germany. The planners of the future must learn to think of it in terms of world cooperation for the betterment of mankind.

The human mind shies away, however, from the vastness of schemes for world organization and tends to accept more readily such regional plans as Pan America, or Pan Europe. The Pan American Union has been functioning for years, to the benefit of all concerned, though it has left untouched many problems of hemispheric cooperation. Pan Europe seems just now not only as far away as the moon, but as cold and dead, if it is to mean a Europe controlled by Nazi Germany. But in such regional plans there is a beginning, a germ which could grow into larger and more fruitful international federations. Why not include Canada in Pan-Americanism? Why exclude the Scandinavian countries, so near akin in standards of living and in aims, from "Union Now"? Is a United States of Europe a possibility? What are the prototypes of such an organization? These are the questions aroused by the following books.

1. THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

The All-American Front, by Duncan Aikman

While not strictly a book about post-war planning, this suggests a plan for hemisphere defense which could readily be continued after the war, like some of those other good war measures which William Paton advocates continuing.

What are the arguments in favor of hemispheric cooperation?

What do you consider the principle obstacles in its way? Barriers of language, of tradition? or the economic barriers of tariffs and trade restrictions?

Would you like to see an actual supra-national federation of the Western Hemisphere?

Have any steps already been taken toward that end?

Discuss the significance of the undefended frontier between the United States and Canada, and the long years of peace between us.

Additional Reading:

The Americas Unite, by Duncan Aikman.

The Canadian Peoples, by B. K. Sandwell.

2. REUNION WITH ENGLAND

Union Now, by Clarence Streit

State the basic plan outlined here.

Has our entry into the war altered its importance?

What are the major advantages to be derived from such a union? The major disadvantages?

Does *Union Now* seem to you too exclusive in scope? What other nations would you include? Upon what would you base membership?

Would "Union Now" strengthen or hamper our war effort?

Might it serve a useful purpose as a model of similar federations to follow?

Does the present alliance of the United Nations suggest a pattern of international cooperation?

Additional Reading:

United States Cooperation with British Nations. National Planning Association.

Union Now with Britain, by Clarence Streit.

Hang Together, by David Munroe.

3. PAN EUROPE

Towards a United States of Europe: Proposals for a Basic Structure, by Abraham Weinfeld

How does the author state the need for some type of federal union in Europe? How does he describe the inefficiency and wastefulness of the present type of nationalism?

Would his plan assure a free indigenous cultural life to each nation, and yet weld the continent into a single economic unit?

What are his proposals for the treatment of minorities, colonies, and mandates? Compare these with others previously studied.

His proposed constitution is based on the Constitution of the United States. Has he modified it to suit the European situation?

Does he take the German problem into account?

How would he guarantee observance of the law of such a Union?

LARGER PLANS

"Make no small plans," was the advice of Daniel Burnham to the city of Chicago, "they have no power to stir men's souls." Such advice is particularly applicable to post-war planning, which must be on an immense scale. At times the scale is so immense that the plans seem only a general and vague expression of good will, and we are left with the feeling: "All this is very fine, this talk of international peace, of economic security, of abundance for everyone, but just how is this millenium to be brought about? How, in concrete terms of day-to-day living, may good will and the will for peace be implemented and made real?"

Hans Heyman attempts an answer to such questions in his *Plan for Permanent Peace*. The book has two unusual claims on our attention: first, it is by a German, and it is probably well to be reminded that there are men of good will among the Germans as everywhere else in the world; and secondly, the author is neither dreamer nor philosopher, but a practical and experienced economist with an international point of view. His carefully detailed plan for world economic structure has the clarity of an architect's drawing. Hans Staudinger, in *The United States and World Reconstruction*, stresses the immediate need for an international banking institution to provide devastated countries with long term credits, and to set up the machinery for relief action in the emergency areas. In his *Plan for Permanent Peace* Heyman shows how such a bank could be established.

The Last Best Hope of Earth, by Harry Scherman, is another statement of the already existing economic unity of the world, the unity of which an international bank would be one expression.

1. UNITY ALREADY ACHIEVED

The Last Best Hope of Earth, by Harry Scherman

What reasons does he give to show that world economic unity already exists?

How has Hitler made use of this fact?

Scherman gives here a very clear statement of the geographic locations of necessary raw materials. Which of these are in the news today?

This list may be expanded by reference to the pamphlet listed below.
How does the title apply to the book?

Additional Reading:

Strategic Raw Materials.

2. THE WORLD BANK

Plan for Permanent Peace, by Hans Heyman

Who is Hans Heyman? Is he qualified to speak with authority on economics?

What does he consider the causes of the present war?

What are his fourteen ideals for peace?

What twelve basic functions of the Bank of Nations does he outline?

Discuss his proposal for an international labor migration office. For international social insurance and unemployment insurance.

How under his plan would the use of and access to raw materials be regulated?

Discuss his plan for different regional banks under one controlling supra-national bank. Does this seem to you a practical plan? What would be its advantages?

What kind of peace does he foresee? What points of similarity does it have with other hopes for peace already suggested here?

Note his references to the Pope's five points, and to the declarations of the British churches.

What is his plan for a United States of the World? Do you think it is too detailed to work in actual practice?

Additional Reading:

Economic Basis for a Durable Peace, by James E. Meade.

The United States and World Reconstruction, by Hans Staudinger.

IS A DURABLE PEACE POSSIBLE?

Peace is one of mankind's most enduring dreams, as old as the nightmare of war, perhaps even older. All through the long caravan of world literature, beside the glorification of heroism and death in battle, runs the parallel theme of man's hope for peace; beyond the long hard struggle, the quiet farm, the simple things of earth and home. Psychiatrists, sociologists, historians, have united to assure us that the dream is a vain one; war is part of the essential nature of human beings, as long as there are people on the planet there will be war, all plans to do away with it are unrealistic and foredoomed to failure. Yet the dream persists, and perhaps in that very persistence there is hope for survival. Hope too may be found in the fact that now, in this tragic year of 1942, less than ever is war accepted as inevitable. There are more widespread and more concerted efforts toward peace perhaps than ever before.

Henry Wriston believes that it is worth the while of every intelligent individual to start now to plan for peace. His book defines acceptably the hopes and aims of people of good will all over the world today. The pamphlet to be studied in connection with it suggests both previous and potential plans for world peace.

1. "WAR FOR PEACE"

Prepare for Peace, by Henry M. Wriston

What does the author consider the major problems and difficulties of making a treaty of peace? How are these illustrated by the Treaty of Versailles?

Discuss his plan for a Foreign Service College for training in an international point of view. Is any such training available now?

How does he define the "centrifugal forces which tended to nullify the League of Nations"? Discuss them.

Outline the author's "theory of peace." How does it compare with other such theories studied here? What does he mention as the present international factors, the things that are understood everywhere, regardless of language?

Define, in the author's terms, the "efficiency of international interdependence." Relate this to other books studied in this course, such as *The Last Best Hope of Earth*, by Scherman.

What is the relation between his "accent on individualism" and world

peace? Why is the individual "the center of political gravity"? Would J. B. Priestley agree to this? Do you think it possible to have world peace without giving up some of this accent on individualism?

Does Henry Wriston seem to you sufficiently aware of the changes that have already taken place in the world? Is his plan flexible enough? How does it compare with Hans Heyman's?

2. AN AMERICAN DOCTRINE

The Future of Peace, by H. M. Kallen

This pamphlet outlines the present peace aims of the conquered nations. Representatives of these nations are meeting during the war to plan the new Europe. Here is how the Foreign Policy Association summarizes their plans:

1. They accept the premise that it will be impossible, even if desirable, to restore the political, economic, and social order that existed on the Continent before the War.

2. No attempt is being made in advance to define the territorial boundaries of a reconstructed Europe.

3. They recognize that in the future the small countries will have to seek strength in some form of unity.

4. While they are interested in the eventual reorganization of the League of Nations, they believe in making a beginning toward collaboration through regional federations.

5. The two regional federations already foreshadowed are a federation of Central Europe, with Poland Czechoslovakia as its nucleus, and a Balkan federation, which would have as its nucleus Greece and Yugoslavia.

Comment on these plans in the light of what Mr. Kallen has to say in his pamphlet.

How does he define America's duty in the present crisis? Does this echo Louis Adamic's conception of our duty? How can we meet "the tragic consequences of this negativism of feeling and will"?

What relation does he establish between this crisis and fundamental American beliefs? Why does he consider peace an American doctrine?

Additional Reading:

World Organization, by Olive I. Reddick. (A very useful summary of different peace proposals)

CHAPTER X

HOW SHALL WE SHAPE THE FUTURE?

The books which we have studied thus far in this program are in agreement upon one important point: that the world after the war can never be the same. This is a difficult point for most of us to accept emotionally, though our reason may agree. It is natural to wish for a return to things as they were, to the familiar comforts and the accepted standards of the pre-war world. The wind of change may be exhilarating, but it is also bleak and harsh and we shrink away from it. The *London Times* in an editorial expresses our natural homesickness for the past, but adds "If from the midst of the bloody wilderness of war we are tempted to look back and see the old order we have left transfigured by the rosy light of nostalgia, to dream of it as a paradise that Hitler desecrated, we have to remind ourselves that it was the order in which Hitler was bred" . . . A sobering thought, that, and one to make us try at least to eradicate some of the evils in the old order.

No one person or group of persons is wise enough to know what sort of world we want in the future. But planning that new order is perhaps the most urgent need in the world today. Mr. Corbett, who writes of *Post-War Worlds*, has a very clear grasp of the causes of the present war and of future needs. In *The World We Want to Live In* we have the opinions of a group of experts on the subject which most concerns us all.

1. THE FUTURE FORESHADOWED

Post-War Worlds, by P. E. Corbett

The first part of this book deals with material already covered in previous programs; it can therefore be very lightly touched upon. To what causes does Dr. Corbett attribute the failure of the Treaty of Versailles? Does he agree with others on this point?

How does he define the two "doctrines of supra-national organization" which are now at war"?

Discuss his comments on the "Union Now" plan. What does he think in general of regional planning for world order? of Pan Americanism?

How have recent events modified the picture which he gives in the chapter on "Peace in the Pacific"?

Compare his plan for economic and financial organization of the world with that of Hans Heyman in *A Plan for Permanent Peace*. Which seems to you more feasible?

How would he deal with colonies and mandates? Compare this section with Holcombe's *Dependent Areas in the Post-War World*.

Summarize his plan for world order as given in the last chapter.

Additional Reading:

Prerequisites for Peace in the Far East, by Nathaniel Peffer.

2. WHEN EXPERTS AGREE

The World We Want to Live In, edited by E. R. Clinchy

Describe the general background and purpose of this book. Note in the preface the people who contributed to the Williamstown Institute of Human Relations.

What are the five main headings under which these opinions are grouped? Judging by the other books you have studied in this course, do you think there are omissions here? What?

How is "social change" defined here? Do you agree with the ideas here expressed about hate?

How are the facts about culture and race stated here? Do they tally with those you have studied previously?

What major social changes do they consider are in operation now? How are they being retarded?

How do they answer the question: "with what economic arrangements do we want to live"?

What do they mean by saying "a good world requires good people"? Discuss the implications of this. "The test of the forms of a society is what they do to man."

What emphasis do the authors place on education for cooperation? What sort of new League of Nations do they envision?

Comment on the statement "In the long run every thing about the post-war world will be determined by religion." Have you found echoes of this thought in other books studied here? Why must the world we want be "ethical in its structure"? Observe especially Eduard Benes' four requisites "for an individual's life worth living" in the post-war world.

THE DEMOCRATIC FAITH

In his brilliant analysis of the present world crisis, *The Making of Tomorrow*, Raoul de Roussy de Sales reminds us that, in the midst of all the talk about the decadence of democracy, there are still one hundred and thirty million Americans who believe that it is the only way of life. That is a heartening thought, a tonic for despair at the slow and muddling and exasperating processes of democracy. Just what do we mean by democracy? Is it worth all the fighting, sacrificing, dying? Perhaps no one could answer these questions better than an Englishman who has seen at first hand the full measure of the necessary sacrifice, and is able to weigh in the balance the cost of fighting and the values defended. Here a gifted scientist, and a leftist writer whose faith is close to the simplicities of the Gospel, tell us why they believe democracy is worth defending, and what promise it holds for the future of the world.

1. WHAT WE DEFEND

A Faith to Fight For, by John Strachey

Notice the dedication. Why is it significant?

The author makes it clear at the outset that he is a socialist. What type of socialism does he adhere to? Do you think his beliefs transcend the limitations of any one party?

What are the two cardinal points of his belief? You may not agree with his contention that fundamental truth is to be found in the Socialist Party, but you will probably agree with the major premise here, i.e. the importance of truth. Show how he establishes this; how Hitler has denied it. What does he mean by truth?

Do you agree with him that "we do not yet serve the truth"? In what sense is this accurate?

How does he justify the statement: "If no life fit to be called human can exist without the struggle for the truth, no life at all can exist without love"? Show how Nazi teaching repudiates this doctrine.

Why does he feel that "love is a stronger force than hate"? Does he establish this logically?

Do you think it is true that we are "fighting for truth and for love"? Granted that this is true, what sort of post-war world should truth and love combine to make?

Discuss what the author means by the "carrying through of that trans-

formation of the whole social and economic way of life without which the talk of loving our fellow-men is a mockery, and to pretend to the truth is a lie." Apply this to your own community.

2. TOWARD WHAT GOAL

Democracy Marches, by Julian Huxley

What does the author consider the "unifying effect of war"? Have we already experienced that in this country?

Upon what evidence does he as a scientist base his belief in the workability of the democratic process?

Summarize the advances which he feels democracy has already made in the following fields: Public Health, Education, Social Services.

Have any of these attainments been realized in your own community?

How does he define the goals of a new international society? e.g. a "reasonable minimum of security against war, a reasonable minimum of stability against fluctuations in production and trade, a reasonable minimum of planned order for the world, a reasonable rate of development for backward areas."

Do you think these goals are realizable? Compare them with other more far-reaching plans for the future studied in this outline.

What means does he suggest for canalizing the spirit of service, which is alive in war time, into peace time channels?

How does he define "the new democratic society"? What link does he establish between service and self-development?

THE BASIS OF HOPE

In the books discussed in this program we have travelled from the general to the particular and back again; from the more or less vague will-to-peace expressed by Henry Wriston to the charted detailed planning of Hans Heyman; from J. B. Priestley, who has seen the leaven of a new order at work in England, to Louis Adamic, who believes that America has the cure for the ills of the world. Some of the books studied here have been realistic, others idealistic; some hopeful, others inclined to pessimism. There is, however, one fundamental which they all suggest, by implication if not directly; one fundamental which must precede and guarantee any hope for a better world in the future. And that is human character; in the final analysis all hope for social betterment, for peace, for the just regulation of world affairs, must rest upon individual character. As Fernando de los Rios puts it:

“Establishment of an effective international force . . . would require of international society a vigorous *ethos*, the pressure of some moral postulates, feelings, and judgment—in short, a belief and a faith so strong and active that it could force even leaders to be led by it; so strong that it could give shape to a new style of international life.”

The reflective and stimulating books presented here at the conclusion may serve as suggestions toward that “vigorous *ethos*,” that belief so powerful that it can motivate a new world.

1. ETHICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR A NEW ORDER

Begin Here; a Statement of Faith, by Dorothy L. Sayers

What does the author mean by war as opportunity? Illustrate.

How does she suggest that we can “control economics without letting economics control us”? “We must practice the arts of imagination and of active and courageous thinking.” How?

What does she suggest as the two things man has to do in order to live a complete and satisfying life in the world?

Discuss her definition and description of theological society. How does she apply the term?

How does she account for the rise of the totalitarian states?

Why does she find it foolish to decry machines and mass production? What does she think we should do instead?

What does she consider the sources of Hitler's power over the masses?

What are her suggestions for paying more attention to the "Rational Man"?

What does she mean by putting together the scattered pieces and finding the "whole man"? Discuss her definition of the "whole man." Why must he also be the creative man?

Discuss her suggestions for future peace. "Peace is not a static thing." Why?

"There are only two ways to move the world: the way of the Gospel and the way of the law, and if we will not have the one we must submit to the other. Somehow we have got to find the integrating principle for our lives, the creative power that sustains our balance in motion." Connect this statement of Miss Sayers with the quotation from Fernando de los Rios at the beginning of this chapter.

2. ETHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRACY

The Making of Tomorrow, by Raoul de Roussy de Sales

Who is the author? What is his claim to the description "citizen of the world"? Do you think he is qualified to write a book about America? What advantage does his foreign birth give him?

As an interpretation of the American way of life, how does this compare with *Two Way Passage* by Louis Adamic, also a foreigner?

How does he define the problems which face the world today? What does he consider the chief obstacles to world organization? What trends toward such organization does he observe?

Does he find opposition to war growing? How do his findings in this regard compare with those of the other author studied here?

Compare his discussion of democracy, in Part IV, with those of Julian Huxley and John Strachey, in the preceding chapter.

Discuss his interpretation of history, as set forth in "The German Revolt." Do you think he establishes a case against Germany?

What does he believe is the road before America? Why is he unwilling to formulate any specific plans for the future?

Comment on "If the war is long, it will be harder for Americans to maintain their standards of thinking than their standards of living." Why?

What does the author think of Roosevelt as a leader? What two contradictory tendencies does he see in American policy?

What questions does he raise without answering? What has been his purpose in so doing?

Contrast the value of this realistic analysis of our present situation with more far-reaching plans for the future.

3. "THE CENTURY OF THE COMMON MAN"

The Price of Free World Victory, by Henry A. Wallace

At a dinner of the Free World Association in New York on May 8, 1942, Vice-President Wallace gave expression to the hopes and aspirations which inspire our war effort. His speech, not sensational, but grave, thoughtful, and forthright, has been acclaimed everywhere as one of the best crystallizations of the peace aims of the United Nations; a commentary on and amplification of the principles of the Atlantic Charter. Use it here as a summary of your entire program, commenting on the ideas set forth in it, as expressions of ideas previously suggested in this program.

Discuss what qualities have given this speech such importance. Are its ideas new? Are they well-expressed here? What is their significance for our time?

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